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THE

VETO

DISCUSSED UPON ITS TRUE PRINCIPLE;

THE ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY

LORD GRENVILLE

REFUTED;

AND THE CONDUCT OF THE

IRISH CATHOLIC BISHOPS

IN REJECTING THE VETO

COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

BY FELIX M'CARTHY.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUIS OF DOWNSHIRE.

"*Licet omnibus licet etiam mihi, dignitatem patriæ tueri; Potestas modo veniendi in publicum sit, dicendi periculum non recuso.*"

Cicero, Phillipic 1st.

"It is the right of every man, and it is also mine, to endeavour to support and vindicate the honour and dignity of his Country; and while I have the power of appearing before the public, *I* DECLINE NOT THE DANGER OF DELIVERING MY SENTIMENTS BOLDLY AND OPENLY."

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ERRATA.

Title. The motto, *after* Licet omnibus *insert* a comma.

Page vi, Note, *for* Magregor, *read* Macgregor.

Page vi, Note, *for* Ghost of Sandys, *read* Ghost of Sandy.

Page vii, Fourth paragraph, *for* Her triumphs over Lord Castlereagh the increase, *read* Her triumphs over Lord Castlereagh evince the one, whilst the increase, &c.

Page viii, Third paragraph, *for* by his ignominious, *read* in his ignominious.

Page viii, Last line but one, *for* instantus, *read* instantis.

Page xiii, Ninth line, *for* Lez Majesté, *read Leze Majesté.*

Page xiii, Eleventh line, *read* This is a sad and deplorable state of things. Insulated as we are, (with all Europe in hostility against us) to shut the door of perfect conciliation against so large a portion of our very limited population as the Catholics of Ireland, is downright insanity.

Page 8, line 5, *for Percolax*, *read* Pervicax.

Page 20, Twelfth line, *for* Catholic Bishop, *read* Catholic Bishops.

Page 26, Tenth line, *for* a slight review, *read* that a slight review.

Page 26, Eleventh line, *for* all the usurping, *read* the all usurping.

Page 29, Bottom of page, *for* Machival, *read* Machiavel.

Page 34, Note, line 2, *for* was the happiness, &c. *read* was the happiness of his People. Yielding to the spurious doctrines of the Economists and Encyclopœdists.

Page 35, line 4, *for que je puisse* me'n, *read que je puisse m'en.*

Page 36, End of first paragraph, insert a note of interrogation.

Page 38, line 17, *for* satified are in earnest, *read* satisfied they are in earnest.

Page 40, line 3, *for* leave hope for, *read* leave any hope for.

Page 40, last line, *for* it must be rejected, *read* it must not be rejected.

Page 43, line 8, *for* sort, *read* sect.

Page 43, Note, *for* for his most, *read* as the subject of his most.

Page 46, line 6, *for* Prestantior, *read* præstantior.

Page 49, line 16, *for* meliorate, &c. *read* ameliorate the condition of his unjustly oppressed and incarcerated fellow-creatures.

Page 49, line 25, *for* argument, *read* arguments.

Page 50, *for* now hold, *read* now holds.

Page 58, line 13, *for* disciplined by the nature, *read* disciplined by the very nature.

Page 59, line 6, *for* verifying, *read* verify the character given of them.

Page 59, line 10, *for* ætis cui que, *read* ætas cuique.

Page 59, line 11, *for unadendi*, *read suadendi.*

Page 62, line 17, *for* in the bitterness, *read* and in the bitterness.

Page 63, line 24, *for* most military commands, *read* most distinguished military commands.

Page 66, Note, line 4, *for* bonds, *read* bands.

Page 67, line 7, *for* was not so, *read* were not so.

Page 70, line 3, *for* their prejudices are not, *read* their prejudices shall not be continually.

Page 70, Note, line 12, *for* raised as the wall states, *read* raised as high as the wall plates.

Page 74, line 25, *for* left prostrate, *read* laid prostrate.

Page 75, Note, line 1, *for* and behold the present, *dele* and.

Page 81, ~~At the end of the second paragraph ought to come this~~

Page 88, line 2, *for* animated, *read* animates.

Through the book, *for* Gifford, *read* Giffard.

2337

DEDICATION

TO THE

MARQUIS OF DOWNSHIRE,

&c. &c.

MY LORD,

SINCE the days of Dryden, dedications have been generally, and it is to be feared, with too much justice, suspected to proceed from interested motives; and amid the various modes of applying the *unction* of flattery, the *bold* and the *rough* style has been frequently employed instead of the fawning and gratulatory. But in acknowledging the high honour your Lordship has done me by patronizing my humble efforts to promote the common good of my country, I hope I shall not offend in either. In return for your condescension, I will not insult you by a pompous enumeration of *all your virtues and great qualities*. I shall content myself with laying before you a short narrative of FACTS, which exhibits the truest model of the virtues and great qualities *which are set before you*; and to which, from the specimen you have already given of your *disposition*, (all that can be expected at your age)

there is every reason to hope you will faithfully adhere. For this precious narrative (in which I alter not even a letter) I am indebted to as respectable and honourable a Character (the personal friend of the truly noble personage alluded to) as the County of Down or any other County in Ireland can boast. I shall only add, that with such a Model before you, no young Roman Patrician or British Nobleman has ever entered upon the career of life with more responsibility attached to him. That your Lordship will justify that responsibility, and increase your hereditary claim to the gratitude of your Country, and the respect of the world, I entertain no doubt.

"Earl Hillsborough, first Marquis of Down-
"shire, during the course of a long life, was un-
"remitting in his exertions to promote the in-
"terests of Ireland.

"To him that Country is principally indebted
"for its Inland Navigation; and solely for that
"Act of Parliament, called the *Brown Seal Act*,
"obtained about the year 1766; and which has
"been the chief cause of the Linen Manufacture
"rising to that unrivalled pitch of excellence it
"has attained. To the blindness and prejudice
"of the Weavers, he had however, nearly fallen a
"sacrifice, in the first moment; for, whilst on a
"market-day at Lisburn, he was endeavouring

" to point out the advantages that would result " from it, he was seized by an infuriated mob, " who intended to put him to death, but he was " fortunately rescued by a band of manly and " attached friends.

" On every occasion he was the warm and " zealous friend, not only of the Country in ge- " neral, but the individuals of it.

" "The late Marquis inherited and manifested " his father's Patriotic virtues and attachments; " and, by a strange fatality, was on the point also " of becoming the victim of a deluded rabble, " for his manly and persevering efforts to carry " into effect the *Militia Bill*, of which he was " the parent. It was not, however, from *one* " single peril *he* escaped; but repeated ambushes " that were laid for him, with murderous intent, " and from which he escaped, by his undaunted " spirit, address, and activity. No personal dan- " ger or fatigue, could deter him from persever- " ing in a cause which he considered as beneficial " to his Country.

" He opposed the UNION on the purest princi- " ples of Patriotism; refusing all sorts of splen- " did temptations to support it; even to the offer " of the dignity of the Dukedom of Downshire.

" Lord *Cornwallis*, in consequence, yielding to " the influence of Lord Castlereagh, (*whose* fa- " ther in the first instance was returned for the " County of Down, under the auspices of the first

" Marquis, and very *gratefully* ever after op-
" posed him and his family,*) on the vile and
" frivolous pretext of the *Major* of the Regiment
" taking the signatures of the freeholders in it
" against the Union, *whilst on Parade,* deprived
" him of the Regiment, Governorship of the
" County, Seat in the Privy Council, and *Patent*
" *Place for himself and Son,* held during plea-
" sure only, but which was immediately trans-
" ferred to Lord Yelverton and *his Son during*
" *their lives.*† In addition to those injuries and
" injustice, Lord Cornwallis impotently attempt-
" ed to add insult by declaring, that as the
" *Marquis of Downshire* was the GREAT LEVIA-
" THAN of the *North,* he was determined to hum-
" ble him—in which, how *completely* he *failed,*
" the *disgraceful humiliations* and defeats his
" *worthy adviser* Lord Castlereagh has expe-

* Thus it appears that his Lordship's *virtues* are hereditary. By this plea he may perhaps expect to wipe off a little of that political turpitude which seemed to be originally and exclusively his own.

† The History of the *Magregor Family,* and the *fortunate event* that established the first of them in the County of Down, will be given at full length in a future Edition. It will be found as interesting an article as any in the *Biographia Hibernica.* A copious narrative of the NOBLE REPRESENTATIVES of this Family, who were *formally* compelled to abandon their name, and most of whom also found it very convenient to abandon their Country, will be given at the same time; not losing sight of the *Ghost of Sandys,* which, if report may be credited, occasionally visits his former associate.

" rienced in that part of the world; the tears
" that were shed at the premature death of the
" Marquis, and the demonstrations of joy that
" blazed through the Country at the late accession
" of the present Marquis to his immense estates,
" will *sufficiently testify*. The promise with
" which this young Nobleman's entrance into
" life is marked, is recent in the mind of every
" one.

" Fortunately for him, he has been blessed
" with a mother, capable beyond almost any of
" her sex, of supplying the place of a FATHER.

" With the most delicate form, uncommon
" sweetness and gentleness of manner, she pos-
" sesses a masculine understanding, and decided
" firmness.

" Left in a most trying situation, and under
" circumstances of singular difficulty, *even when*
" *sinking under affliction*, she discovered an une-
" qualled energy of mind, and discriminating
" judgment, not only in maintaining the *political*
" *interests* of her family, but those of every other
" description. Her triumphs over LORD CASTLE-
" REAGH; the increase and improved arrange-
" ment of their immense property, and the suc-
" cessful attention to the education of her chil-
" dren, prove the other.

" It is not however for her *own family* alone
" she feels an interest—she is benevolence and
" generosity personified—shunning parade, and

" delighting in secret acts of munificence and " liberality."

If it be impossible, as I conceive it is, for any man possessed of the ordinary feelings of honor and love of country to read this plain and unadorned tale without the most lively emotions, it is easy to conceive what effect it must have on your Lordship's mind; too young at that period to witness the sufferings of this illustrious patriot, but now imperiously called upon to avenge them.

Through the persevering and extraordinary exertions of his virtuous consort, your thrice honored Mother, they have been so *in part* already, by the signal disgrace inflicted on Lord Castlereagh, by his ignominious expulsion from the County of Down.

Pardon, My Lord, this allusion.—The characters I have presented before you, like light and shade, are necessary to fix your attention upon the duties that await you. In your own family you will find the brightest and noblest models to imitate; in their enemies the blackest portraits of human depravity to avoid. Steadily viewing the whole conduct of your illustrious Father, we find the compleat exemplification of the virtuous Patriot, as drawn by the classic poet—

" Justum et tenacem propositi virum
" Non civium ardor prava jubentium
" Nec vultus instantis Tyranni
" Mente quatit solidâ" Hor.

The times are propitious to the display of all your energies. How far you may be seconded by the other young Noblemen of the Country, it is not for me to say, but I cannot help observing, that when *in days of yore* Ireland required redress, an O'Neil was never wanting.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your respectful and obedient Servant,

FELIX M'CARTHY.

May 3d, 1810.

INTRODUCTION.

THE question of the CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION being about to undergo another discussion, and the Noble Lord who has hitherto advocated that question in the House of Lords having embarrassed it with new conditions which the Catholic Clergy and Laity are equally unanimous in rejecting; I have been induced to reprint, in a collected (or, as the fashionable phrase is, a *tangible*) shape, the letters I have already published on that subject:—and if those letters have no claim to superior literary merit, I feel great satisfaction in reflecting, that every sentiment they contain has received the stamp of approbation from those immediately interested. In fact (as the dates of the respective letters will shew) the strongest confirmation from all the Meetings convened in all parts of the Country, from the remotest North to the farthest South, followed the predictions I ventured to make, in the name of my Catholic Countrymen. With respect to the Bishops in particular, I could entertain no doubt as to what line of conduct they would pursue. I was there bold and confident in my assertions that

they *would not acquiesce* in this VETO—nor do I plume myself upon this, neither do I make pretensions to any extraordinary gifts of Prophecy, although what I foretold, *several weeks before* those Meetings took place in the Metropolis and various other parts of the Country, was *literally verified.* It required only a knowledge of the Principles *which must govern* the conduct of that Venerable Body, who had no alternative. The question admitted of no discretionary latitude. Until a new order of things be completely established, the election of the Bishops must go on in the old way, or they are at once guilty of *Schism.*

I do not pretend to be very deeply versed in Church learning, but I should have little profited by the conversation of some of the most enlightened Divines of that Communion, whom I have had the honour and happiness of associating with both at home and abroad, if I did not perfectly understand the Principles laid down for the guidance of their conduct, and to which they must religiously adhere. They have done so, and fully justified my confidence in their virtue and consistency. I shall abstain from entering into any farther discussion of a Question which is already solemnly determined by the only competent Tribunal—the Synod of the Bishops.

In the present state of things, indeed, it is disputing *de lana caprina,* since it is very clear, that

even if this most unseasonable difficulty had not been started, there is no chance of the Question being carried. No, no; the PERCEVALS, the ELDONS, and the HAWKESBURYS, those vigilant Guardians of the King's Conscience, will scout it. The late disgraceful Riots have, it seems, agitated the Royal mind; and after the terrors those redoubted Characters have inspired it with, against Catholic Emancipation, it is become Lez Majesté even to mention it.

This is a sad and deplorable state of things, insulated as we are with all Europe in hostility against us, to shut the door of perfect conciliation against so large a portion of our very limited population as the Catholics of Ireland. But so it is. We read with great rapture of the gallant deeds of an O'Donnel and a Blake in Spain; but if it were proposed to trust either of them with the command of an army in the service of their lawful Sovereign, the little *Northampton Apostle* of persecution would faint, and my much *reverenced friend, Patrick O'Duigenan* would, in his *harmonious howl,* put up a *Pulliloo,* and swear that *the Church was in danger.* Let us see then what a predicament the King and the Catholics of Ireland are placed in respecting each other, by the effect of such counsels.

It is high treason to wish for the death of the King. but no statute makes it treason for men to

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wish whatever obstacle obstructs their happiness removed. The Catholics feel that they only claim their JUST RIGHTS: those Rights are withheld, and will be withheld from them while the King listens to his present evil advisers—for to talk of the King's own personal feelings or prejudices, about a legislative measure of great national importance, I should rather say of *vital interest*, to the safety of the State, is equally unconstitutional and absurd.

With regard to the CORONATION OATH, although every man at all acquainted with the first Principles of the British Constitution well knows that it is a rank mockery to propose it as a bar on this occasion, yet I will, to satisfy *tender consciences*, introduce the clear and convincing Explanation of it given by the late LORD PETRE, in a small tract which I had the honour of Editing.

CORONATION OATH.

"This I confess to be a subject which, though already discussed in public by persons not equally interested with me in the presentment of such unexpected obstacles, I should have refrained from touching upon, if I did not think it might be conducted even by so inexperienced a pen without any violation of delicacy to the subject itself, and of that respect and veneration which I must ever feel for my Sovereign. But "the coronation oath "being a part of the written and promulgated "law of the land, I cannot but presume that "every one of his Majesty's subjects has an equal "right to judge how far it applies to any point "or circumstance which may be under his con- "templation. Besides, as this new impediment "has not been openly avowed or stated by any "person officially in the confidence of his Ma- "jesty, we do not yet know with any certainty "whether it has any other existence than in "the invention of those who are willing to move "heaven and earth in the cause of their invinci- "ble prejudices, and who would seek in the ter- "rors of the one that alliance which they are not "disposed to form with the justice and benevo- "lence of the other." I am also aware, that

there are malignant spirits willing to turn any observations I may make upon this subject against myself, and exclaim, "Here is a Roman Catho-"lic, probably they would say a *Papist*, who, "while he professes the most scrupulous adher-"ence to oaths, and disclaims the force of any "dispensing power, contends at the same time "for a latitude in the construction of the solemn "obligation imposed upon his Majesty at the "time of his coronation." Such assertions are easily made by those who deal chiefly in invectives; but those who deal with candour will soon find that I contend for no latitude, nor for any qualified nor casuistical construction of that oath. The part of the oath prescribed by Stat. 1. of WILLIAM and MARY, c. vi. which refers most immediately to the present subject, is couched in the following words:

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, "maintain the laws of the gospel, and the Pro-"testant reformed religion *established by law?* "And will you preserve unto the bishops and "clergy of this realm, and to the churches com-"mitted to their charge, all such rigths and pri-"vileges as by law *do*, or *shall* appertain unto "them, or any of them?"

"To this division of the oath administered by the Archbishop, the KING answers—

"All this I promise to do."

"Upon this clause, which forms that branch of the engagement, which has lately been supposed to have suggested important scruples, the lawyers and divines have been at work, and have twisted and explained it over and over, with all the technical subtlety of the one, and all the casuistical refinement of the other. For my own part, I am neither disposed nor qualified to involve myself in such endless and inextricable labyrinths. His Majesty, any more than myself, cannot be supposed very conversant with all the windings and intricacies of forensic disputation: and an oath should be so framed as to be easily comprehended by the person, whoever he may be, to whom it is to be administered, and who must not be expected to consult professional opinions respecting the duties which it imposes on him. Speaking, therefore, on the same ground as any other man possessed of sufficient reason to judge of the obligations of an oath, in my apprehension the first and most material point to be considered is, whether this solemn agreement was meant to bind the King in his *executive,* or in his *legislative* capacity. If it be admitted, that it only binds him in his executive, then all arguments founded upon conscientious scruples fall to the ground; and yet I am greatly deceived, if it be capable of any other explanation. For surely

it will not be contended, that any parliament representing the three estates of the kingdom, could act so preposterously as to make it a condition that previously to the King's being entitled to wear the crown, he should be compelled to swear against themselves. Many years have elapsed since it was thought necessary to stipulate for the due performance of the legislative functions of the crown, and since the province of the other branches has been defined with more precision and accuracy than heretofore, and the principle having been fully established that the King cannot originate or alter an act of parliament, nor indeed constitutionally take any other part in the process but that of rejecting or giving it his consent, his coronation oath therefore can only regard his *executive* capacity. The peculiarity of the moment when this conscientious scruple burst forth, or has at least been suggested to the public, is far from being auspicious. There remains only one indulgence to be accorded to the Roman Catholics (those of Ireland particularly) and that can, less than any other, affect the safety or stability of the established church; and yet these qualms are now summoned *sero sed serio* to disappoint the hopes of an expectant people, "to hold the word of *promise* to the ear, and break it to the sense." Where did they sleep

when the government of Canada was regulated, and the people left in the unlimited ~~engagement~~ enjoyment of the religion of their ancestors? Where did they slumber when so many indulgences were given to Roman Catholics in the midst of such a bustle as was most likely to arouze them? Why are they now, for the first time, to scare me and others in like circumstances, to proscribe us from the enjoyment of our rights, and "Come with "twenty mortal murders on their heads to part "us from our stools?"

"If this objection be really founded in conscience, the law of God, and religious observance, how many Sovereigns of England must have been guilty of the grossest perjuries in the frequent violations of their coronation oaths? From the earliest periods of our history, every King and Queen has been obliged to swear that they would preserve the rights of *holy mother church as then established by law*; as also the rights, privileges, possessions, &c. of the bishops, abbots, prebends, ministers, and all the other ecclesiastical appurtenances of the time. This oath was administered for ages before the reformation was ever dreamed of, and was sworn by Henry VIII. the founder of the Reformation in this Country, and the despoiler of the Clergy. It may perhaps be said, that no fair argument should be drawn from a

reference to the conduct of so abhorred a character, though God employed him, as he frequently has done the worst of men, as the instrument of his mercies as well as of his vengeance. With however ill a grace this exception may appear to be urged by a Protestant, I am ready to admit it— but the reformed religion was established in that Prince's reign and the succeeding one of his son, and Queen MARY was sworn to preserve the church as she found it. How that engagement was fulfilled it will be needless for me to say, any more than that during the continuance of her power, the ancient church once more resumed the ascendancy. Queen ELIZABETH succeeded; another ecclesiastical revolution followed, and it would be needless to trace the ensuing variations in the reigns of the STUARTS, the jumble of the commonwealth, &c.; during all which there was ample demonstration of that sort of security which oaths are capable of affording, particularly as applied to the legislative power of the sovereign. How far in this respect the oaths of Princes have been really at variance with their proceedings would be matter of curious inquiry; but as it would also be necessarily very copious and might possibly admit of an invidious construction, my wish to escape from obloquy must prevent me from entering into it. There are not,

however, the same reasons to prevent me from observing, that if these spiritual admonitions or compunctions could ever have had any weight at all they now begin to shew themselves at rather too late a season, and with as hopeless a prospect as even a death-bed repentance."

I defy all the casuistry on the Treasury Bench, and all the learning on the Bench of Bishops, to refute this plain reasoning.—It is indeed irrefragable. If then it be clearly proved that the King's conscience is not in the remotest degree affected by these concessions, what a dread responsibility attaches to those who hold out a respect for that conscience as the pretext of withholding their rights from four millions of loyal subjects? false and delusive are such pretexts in their own nature, and most destructive in their consequences. Is the country in a state to contend with the enemy under such a system? The Chancellor of the Exchequer will certainly make his loan with very little difficulty, but let him ask any honest, conscientious man, whether or not the people can bear an increase of taxes, under the weight of which they are already crushed to the very Earth? What new resources can he explore? how can he run the race of exaction against the Ruler, not of France alone but of all Europe? who may truly say in the words of the Roman Tyrant "*si æra-*

" rium ambitione exhauserimus per scelera sup-
" plendum est." Ann. 2d. I despise the language of despondency. I know and rely upon the great resources of the United Empire. I rely on its combined valor and patriotism to preserve our independence and our liberties: But without CORDIAL UNION, *without that pure and perfect confidence growing out of an Equality of Rights,* it is idle to imagine that those resources can ever be effectually drawn forth. Religious distinctions, and tests on men's consciences, are more dangerous enemies than BONAPARTE, I speak without distinction. Let not then, any longer, to use the remarkable words of my deceased friend FATHER O'LEARY, *" Let not Religion, the sacred name of " Religion, serve any longer as a wall of separa-" tion between us."*

" Tempori cedere, id est necessitati parere, sem-" per sapientis est habitum," is a maxim laid down by Cicero. That our Ministers may at length feel the necessity of yielding to the novel and extraordinary exigencies of the times, that they may relinquish their own blind and pernicious prejudices, and act upon those expanded principles, sanctioned by the greatest names that adorn the Page of Modern History, by LORD CHATHAM, by the MARQUIS of ROCKINGHAM, by LORD CAMDEN, by SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, by MR. DUNNING,

by EDMUND BURKE, by CHARLES FOX, in a word by every eminent statesman during the present reign. This is a consummation most devoutly to be wished, but, alas! more to be wished than expected.

IRISH CATHOLICS

AND

VETO.

MORNING CHRONICLE, 15th Oct. 1808.

IRISH CATHOLICS.

In the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 25th of May last, upon the Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, Mr. Grattan, in the course of his speech, made the following declaration, which produced a considerable impression at the time.—"The Catho-"lics," he said, "nominated their Bishops them-"selves, and looked to the Pope only for his spi-"ritual sanction of such nomination. But if it "should be supposed that there was the smallest "danger in this course, he had a proposition to "suggest, which he had not only authority, but "which indeed he was instructed, to make, name-"ly, that his majesty may interfere on such oc-"casion with his negative. This would have the

" effect of preventing any Catholic Ecclesiastic " from being advanced to the dignity of the " church in Ireland, who was not politically ap- " proved of by the government of this Country."

And in the debate on the same question in the House of Lords, on the 28th of May, the Duke of Norfolk stated the proposition still more explicitly—" Adverting to the power which the " Catholics proposed should be vested in his Ma- " jesty, as it respected the nomination of their " bishops, he said they were disposed to lay be- " fore his majesty a list of three persons, of whom, " if his majesty should reject two, the remaining " one of the three should be vested with the epis- " copal dignity; but if his majesty should reject " all the three, then another list of three distinct " persons should be submitted to his considera- " tion; and so on till his majesty shall signify his " approbation of any individual, by allowing his " name to remain."

After these declarations from such high authority, we were not a little surprized to find it stated, in a Dublin Paper, that the following Resolution had been agreed to, at a late Meeting of the Roman Catholic Prelates in that city:—

" That it is the decided opinion of the Roman " Catholic Prelates of Ireland here assembled; " That it is not expedient to introduce any alter- " ation in the Canonical mode hitherto observed

"in the nomination of Irish Roman Catholic "Bishops; which mode long experience has "proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and sa- "lutary."

Both Mr. Grattan and the Duke of Norfolk, we believe, made their statements *upon the authority of Dr. Milner,* who has been always esteemed a man of great respectability. There must, however, it would seem, either have been a very great misunderstanding between him and the Constituent Body of the Irish Clergy, *or it will not be easy to exculpate the latter from a charge of insincerity.* But, however the matter may stand between them and their Representative, their passing *such a Resolution* after the declaration made *by two such distinguished persons, in their name, must subject them to a charge of gross ingratitude*: *those illustrious statesmen, who have, with so much zeal advocated their cause, and who sacrificed their places rather than desert their interests.* Perhaps, also, it would have been wise in them, at a time when they are calling upon the King, the Parliament, and the People of Great Britain, to surrender their prejudices, to have shewn a temper somewhat more accommodating, and a willingness to make every concession that was consistent with a conscientious profession of their faith.

Saturday, October 15, 1808.

MORNING CHRONICLE, 19th Oct. 1808.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR,

HAVING been a constant Reader, and an occasional Correspondent, from the very first day the *Morning Chronicle* was published, *under your auspices,* I hope, I may, without giving any offence, be allowed to offer my sentiments upon those subjects which are discussed with so much ability, and (making a due allowance for party prejudice) with so much impartiality in that Paper.

Of all those subjects, *The* CATHOLIC QUESTION *(the most delicate that was ever submitted to the discussion of a British Parliament)* has been uniformly treated in the *Morning Chronicle,* with a liberality that has disarmed prejudice on one hand, while it has called forth the most generous ebullitions of gratitude, on the part of those honourable and virtuous characters, whose *proscribed and unworthy condition* you have advocated in a manner equally creditable to your own talents, and to the fair and just claims of your clients.

That you have been successful to a great degree is not to be denied.

By those strenuous efforts which you, and a

few other liberal conductors of the Press, made against the base and wicked cry of "*No Popery*" that *mugitus labyrinthi* raised *by the most profligate political adventurers that ever disgraced the page of English history,* and supported by that *vile pecus; that base prostitute vulgar herd,* who, worshipping *Mammon* only, would forswear their God, as they do their former principles—*for lucre,* the nation has been rescued from the stigma attempted to be imposed on it by his Majesty's present advisers.

Having expressed myself thus freely, may I hope that you will justify my opinion of your candor, by allowing me *to arraign yourself before the Bar of the Public,* through the medium of *your own journal,* for the *harsh, violent,* and *hasty* censure which you have this day pronounced upon the *Catholic Prelacy* of Ireland.

When a nation has submitted for centuries to every pain and privation, from the pure and noble impulse of religion; when those whom poverty and persecution have assailed in vain; *who have resorted to forests and caverns to preserve undefiled the worship of their God, according to their own ritual,* are criminated *at such a moment as this,* for resolving to adhere to those very principles, and to keep their Church, for which so many martyrs have bled, undefiled by any novel

interference,* I should, Sir, have expected to have read this accusation in some other Paper than the *Morning Chronicle*. How far Dr. Milner mistook his instructions, or to what an extent, those instructions went, I will not now discuss; but I will *boldly and absolutely pledge my honor for that meek, virtuous, and forbearing body,* the Catholic Prelacy of Ireland; that, as they have hitherto been distinguished for the most unbounded sacrifices of every personal feeling, to the paramount sense of their duty, so will they be now found to have acted with consistency.

No man can respect the character of Dr. Milner more than I do.

It would indeed argue an utter disregard of those attributes which tend to the amelioration of society, not to respect *his* attainments. But, however much I may differ with you on the main

* *Vide Curry's Historical Memoirs of the Civil Wars in Ireland,* where will be found recorded, atrocities, even more horrid than those perpetrated by the vile myrmidons of the *Corsican Tyrant,* against the brave Spaniards, by an *English Soldiery, under the orders of an English Government,* against the Catholics of Ireland, whose Priests and Prelates suffered hardships scarcely to be credited, and who were obliged to dispossess the wild beasts of their recesses in woods and forests to practise their religion.—How much Englishmen of the present day must shudder at the recital of such horrors, it is unnecessary to dwell on.

subject of my letter, I hope we shall agree in one point, viz. that Dr. Milner is not *infallible*. Is it not then, Sir, fair to presume, that *there has been some mistake* in this business? And would it not have been worthy of that character for honour and liberality, which you have maintained *in the most trying times*, to have ascertained this fact before you "*fulminated your anathema*" against a dignified and long suffering class of *your fellow* subjects, against whom the barbed arrows "of the cowardly, the base, and mercenary hire-"lings of the Press, have been recently pointed?"

What then are we to expect from *them*, when the half extinguished embers of their malice are fanned into flame, by those observations on which I most reluctantly animadvert?

Is it a crime in the Catholic Prelacy of Ireland, when the Head of their Church is prostrated to the dust, by the *Corsican Usurper*, to display those virtues which they have ever exhibited, and which characterize the primitive Martyrs of that church?

Were I to look back to the pages of the *Morning Chronicle*, in what glowing terms should I find the degradation of the Pope's authority deprecated? What then has changed the nature of the question? *Caprice, and Caprice alone*, I hope, Mr. Editor, for I wish not to impute a worse motive.

Reverencing that venerable body as I do, I

feel firm in my faith, and *bold in the assertion, that as they are not tempted by those mercenary motives* which perhaps *may influence another Episcopacy,* I may say of them in the language of Tacitus, "*Opum contemptor, recti percolax, "constans adversus metus,*" hence it is impossible they should have receded from a principle once laid down. Could they at any time have reconciled their minds to *recantation,* they might *wear their lawn sleeves, occupy the soft cushions in the House of Lords,* and enjoy the produce of their benefices undisturbed at all times, except when the Minister might happen to be hard run for a vote.

I will then, for the present, take my leave of you, in the full confidence that those grave and virtuous characters, whose advocate you have so long been, will come forward, and with that dignity which has ever distinguished them, vindicate themselves.

The religion of an *O'Carrol,* of a *Blake,* of an *O'Donnel,* and of all those glorious heroes who are now asserting the pride of man in Spain, and in the most effectual manner fighting the battles, and promoting the commercial interests of England, ought not to be treated with disrespect; and though its professors in Ireland *are ground to dust,* and subjected to every species of exaction and servitude, let us indulge the pleasing, patriotic hope, that a wiser and more liberal policy

will influence his Majesty's Ministers, who indeed *have the grace to disavow* the principles which introduced them into office.

Never since that memorable æra did those Ministers find any thing like a vindication of their illiberal principles until your article appeared. Now indeed may they rejoice and sing *io triumphe*. However, Sir, I will not press my complaint further, but act upon the good principle, that old friends should not quarrel upon slight grounds. I therefore shall look forward to a satisfactory explanation of this apparent difference between the Catholic Prelates of Ireland and their best friends, among whom I hope ever to recognize the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

PUBLICOLA.

Saturday, October 15th, 1808.

*** The Editor is sensible of the kindness of Publicola in the open, manly, and candid remonstrance which he has made on the Article that appeared in this paper of Friday last. He presumes to think, however, that it does not merit the severity of reprehension it has met with from him. The declaration of the Synod of Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, so totally at variance with the authority given by some person in their name, to the Duke of Norfolk and Mr.

Grattan, requires to be explained, for the honour of that venerable body, whose unblemished truth, consistency and forbearance have been at all times so creditable to the doctrines they profess. The integrity of these distinguished Senators is also involved in the mystery of this transaction. And surely, when the Editor observed in private society, the deep impression which the apparent contradiction has made on the minds of the best and most enlightened men in this kingdom, it was a fit topic to submit to public discussion for the purpose of having it cleared up. He will not yield to the most zealous devotee to papacy, in ardent wishes for the deliverance of that community from all the restraints upon conscience, which still remain on our books, and which are a reproach and an injury to the realm; and he will never cease to exert his faculties and opportunities in their cause, but he cannot shut his eyes to what appears to be disingenuous; and he will not be silent when he thinks the public entitled to explanation.

A Ministerial paper of last night, takes up the declaration of the Prelates, as a justification of the refusal on the part of Government to accede to their claims. Now this we utterly deny. Grant that the Declaration was impolitic, and that, unaccompanied by any explanation, it was indecorous, still that which is in itself right and just

for the Government to do, could not be influenced by a misunderstanding of this sort.

We shall presume to think the Declaration indiscreet, and we speak of it the more freely, because it is not a point of doctrinal faith, involving conscientious scruples, upon which it would have been easy to have forgiven any degree of warmth and pertinacity in maintaining it; but merely a subordinate question of Church Government, which in fact, is altogether foreign to the *Roman Catholic Religion.* The Roman Catholic Bishops must be aware that this very question has been the subject of much discussion between the Gallican Church and the Papal See; and that the Kings of France have been constantly in the practice of nominating all the Bishops within their dominions. Do the Catholic Bishops of Ireland mean to pass a censure of heterodoxy upon the Gallican Church? do they mean to say, that they would shed the last drop of their blood rather than agree to the Kings of England *exercising, under modifications,* a right which the Kings of France have been in the habit of *exercising without any modification?* For, let it be observed, that it was not proposed to give his majesty a positive right of appointing the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland, but merely a power of imposing a veto upon the election of what he might consider an improper person. They will,

perhaps, plead that the Kings of France were Catholic, whereas the King of England is an *Ac*-Catholic Sovereign. But every one knows that it was not as Roman Catholics, but as temporal Princes that the Sovereigns of France exercised this right, and the respectable members of the Catholic Synod of Ireland have surely too much sense to expect the King of England to adopt their religious faith, for the sake of ~~requiring~~ acquiring a right to appoint their Bishops.

MORNING CHRONICLE, 24th October 1808.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Sir,

You have, I acknowledge, acquitted yourself in a manner creditable to me, and honourable to your own feelings, in the answer which you have this day made to my observations, on what appeared to me an extraordinary article in *The Morning Chronicle,* of Friday last, respecting the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, whose conduct you arraigned with a severity irreconcilable with the language uniformly held towards them in that paper.

Those who are acquainted with the state of the Press, when you first entered upon your Editorial duties, must be glad to see the principles, which then marked the conduct of its Conductors, thus fairly and liberally revived. At the period I allude to, which was one of the most critical in the History of England—towards the conclusion of the American War; and when "*a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether,*" was *the order of the day,* a newspaper was considered as an *Arena,* in which the literary Champions of both parties were allowed to

measure weapons against each other, even in those points most tinged with party partiality; since that time, the Press has fallen into such hands, as have found its abuse the best source of their fortune, and with very few exceptions, has been devoted to private, instead of public interest—hence does it prove in the hands of the base, and corrupt, such a pernicious engine of public mischief. Among those who have adopted your liberal plan, there is one *conspicuous individual,* who has had the sagacity of perceiving the *benefit* of conducting a paper on the principles I have stated. I need scarcely mention Mr. Cobbett.

He has profited of the secret, and made his *Political Register* a field of combat for all parties; thus prudently extending the circle of his correspondence, and saving himself a great deal of time and trouble, in fact-tasking those to contribute to his paper, who were occasionally the objects of his attacks, which have, it must be confessed, been freely made upon all parties, and all sorts of persons, acting perhaps upon the old principle *Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur.*

You will, I hope, pardon these preliminary observations, of which your own mind will admit the justice, but in return for the freedom I take in making them, I shall occupy but briefly your

time, on which I have very reluctantly intruded. I have read your reply with the attention due to the character of the paper under your controul, and to those just and candid principles on which you have always acted, towards the most aggrieved class of his majesty's subjects—THE CATHOLICS of IRELAND. I must then in all candour *attack your strong hold,* which though it may not, like the walls of Jericho, fall down at the sound of my feeble voice, must surrender to the force of argument, and to the conviction which will flash on your own mind, as well as on the mind of every rational man, who examines the question *as it really stands.*

You ask in a tone of confidence, which appears to be decisive on the subject, "*Do the Catholic "Bishops of Ireland mean to pass a censure of "heterodoxy on the Gallican Church; do they "mean to say, that they would shed the last drop "of their blood, rather than agree to the King of "England exercising under modifications,*"—a right which the Kings of France have been in the habit of exercising without any modification? &c. Not having an opportunity of consulting the opinions of those venerable Prelates, any more than I had of ascertaining the *nature* and *extent* of Doctor Milner's instructions, upon which, however, *I happened to be strictly correct,* for Dr. Milner has formally contradicted his having given such instructions, though I

reasoned only from my knowledge of that conduct, which has uniformly marked the Catholic Prelates of Ireland, who have by sacrifices *not desirable to be exhibited on the canvass at this moment,* preserved their HIERARCHY WHOLE and ENTIRE, while their English Brethren suffered it to be frittered away, and to become *a mere shadow*—a name without a substance. *Corpus sine pectore,* I cannot take upon me to state their opinions upon the question. But I will take the liberty of putting a question to you in return, the answer to which I shall be equally diffident in anticipating. *Let me then, Sir, ask you, whether or not the* CROWN *already possesses sufficient influence to keep this goodly* CONSTITUTION *on its equilibrium?*

I am old enough to recollect a celebrated resolution of the House of Commons, viz. that "*The "influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished;*" and I recollect that YOU at that period most strenuously employed your abilities in impressing upon the people of England the necessity of acting up to the spirit of that resolution; but perhaps you may be now of opinion that the Crown has not sufficient influence in Ireland, and therefore think it a wise and necessary measure to transfer the nomination of the Catholic Bishops from that authority, (the *unity* and *integrity* of which they must alone acknowledge,

while they continue to profess their religion) into the hands of a power, which, in a *spiritual sense, they can never recognize.* Should this be your opinion, I must add, that the instance you adduce to illustrate your argument, and on which you seem to rely with so much confidence, will not bear you out. Let us look then at the misery inflicted upon France, and not only upon France, but upon the whole civilized world, by the abuse of that power you quote. What, but the prostitution of that power, has cursed the world with a Bishop of Autun (without alluding to a thousand others, who owed their preferment to *the ravenous cupidity of some strumpet of fashion, or the corruption and profligacy of some mercenary Minister)?* What, but the shameful and unprincipled distribution of Ecclesiastical patronage, of which *Talleyrand* Perigord, is such a signal instance, tended to bring the Gallican Church into disrepute, and the Christian Religion itself into such disgrace, that the followers of the Court were at last ashamed to profess it, and openly boasted of Atheism?* Atheists they

* "*Si vous voulez une Revolution, il faut commencer par decatholiser la France,*" was the sentiment of MIRABEAU, and the principle to which *He, Condorcet,* and their criminal confederates, chiefly directed their attention. How well they succeeded, and what were the *precious* effects of their *pious* labours to bring the Catholic church into disgrace it is unneces-

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might have been in their professions, but much worse than Atheists has Europe found them in their practices; witness the horrible progress of their own revolution, and their still more flagitious tyranny in Portugal and Spain.

Are you then, Sir, of opinion, that it would argue sound discretion in the Catholic Prelacy of Ireland, who seek no benefit by the change, to remove that Episcopal nomination, sanctioned by ages, and from which no sort of danger had arisen, nor from the *legitimate Head of their own Church,* surely can any be apprehended at this moment, *plundered and persecuted as he is,*

sary to state. Do those redoubted heroes who now wish to keep the Professors of the Catholic Religion in disgrace, look forward to a similar result of their Anti-Catholic and Revolutionary system? Does the Conclave alluded to, with that MIGHTY WARRIOR the *Duke of Cumberland* at their head, and every dirty interested scoundrel in the kingdom at their tail, imagine the high-minded Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland will for ever submit to their vulgar and vile yoke? Forbid it pride and honour; forbid it national safety; and still, O still, forbid it genuine loyalty to the Sovereign, so woefully misled by such unworthy counsellors, who seek nothing but the gratification of their own individual corrupt interests. But above all, defend us, O God! from the horrors of that revolution, which those *pseudo loyalists* affect to deprecate, but has proved to them a fertile source of honors and fortune, while it has involved almost every throne and state in Europe in ruin, and deluged the world in blood. May the spirit of national concord, the general feeling of the awful aspect of the times, and the wisdom of parliament, defeat their pernicious system!!!

for *his attachment to the Head of the Church of England ?**

To the King as *their Sovereign,* they are ready to yield.

Among all his subjects it has been repeatedly acknowledged, that none surpass them in zeal and devotion to his person and government. You perhaps will answer me, as many others have done, that the Bishops possess *political* as well as *spiritual* power; but giving this answer its full force, permit me to ask you, if the *Portlands,* the *Castlereaghs,* the *Hawkesburys,* the *Forsters,* and the *Beresfords,* are likely to make a better use of that influence than the *Choiseuls,* the *Vergennes,* the *Breteuils,* and those other profligate Ministers, whose corrupt and base practices brought the Monarchy of France to ruin, and the Monarch to the scaffold!

From EVILS SUCH AS THESE—from SCENES SO DREADFUL, and HEART-RENDING, may God preserve the Monarchy of England! ! !

Really Mr. EDITOR, these subjects generate such gloomy ideas, that I can scarcely bring my mind to discuss them.

In a few words then, my fervent wish and most earnest hope is, that those same *Irish Bishops* may be allowed to follow their ancient modes,

* Vide Buonaparte's Proclamation, and his reasons for deposing the Pope.

which have never yet produced the smallest harm either to CHURCH OR STATE, and to leave that *virtuous incorrupt Government* under which they exist, *(for, in truth, they have but a bare existence)* to the full enjoyment of all their other official influence, which I am disposed to think, YOU *will consider to be fully adequate to their merits.*

Should the Members of that Government ever renounce those pernicious and unconstitutional principles, on which they came into office, I have no objection that the Catholic Bishop should extend the rites of the Church towards them and give them absolution as *repentant sinners.**

PUBLICOLA.

* It is to be feared that the absolution of such characters must run in the words of Erasmus, to the hypocritical sinner:

" Absolvo te ab omnibus benefactis quorum nulla in te invenio talemque dimitto qualem accepi.

SUNDAY REVIEW, 18th Feb. 1810.

THE PROPOSED CATHOLIC VETO.

"Veritas à quocumque dicitur à Deo est."

"Truth, by whomsoever spoken, comes from God."

To the Editor of the Sunday Review.

SIR,

THE unexpected revival of this question, which I was induced to hope had received its final *quietus*, when it was so amply discussed in the *Morning Chronicle* last October twelvemonth, induces me to claim that indulgence which you so liberally grant to all fair and candid literary discussion.

I confess, Sir, I feel no little surprize at the appearance of the new champion, who at present has come forward to enforce the *infamous* VETO, the adoption of which, he states, as a *preliminary measure* to his supporting the just claims of the *Catholic Laity* to their *civil rights*. Formidable as such an adversary must be at all times, yet now that he has received the *bonnet* from the

University of Oxford, he must be doubly so, since whatever opinion he pronounces may be regarded as pronounced *ex Cathedra.**

To Lord Grenville's talents and knowledge I am as ready as yourself to pay all due deference, believing him to be, what Mr. Burke once described him, "*a vigorous and enlightened States-*" *man.*" But I hope to shew, in this short essay, that it is possible *even for Lord Grenville to be wrong*; and (to borrow a phrase from the profession to which he was originally bred) that in his letter on this subject *he has travelled out of the Record.* His Lordship, speaking of the measures necessary to the accomplishment of this object, says, "Among these measures I pointed out "the proposal of vesting in the crown an *effec-*

* In order to avoid misrepresentation, I beg distinctly to state, that few persons more sincerely rejoice in Lord Grenville's success on this occasion than I do. I think the University of Oxford, in electing his Lordship as Chancellor, has set a glorious example of liberality and independence; and by exhibiting, in broad day-light, certain characters, who, like *owls and bats*, skulk in the dark, has established a fair claim to the respect and gratitude of the whole empire.

We understand that an ingenious Caricaturist is about entertaining the Public with a striking likeness of the Lord Chancellor, whose countenance so exactly resembles the *Bird of Wisdom*, and a few of his most zealous supporters—*of course* Church and King, *and* No Popery, *will be the label.*

"*tual negative* on the appointment of your "Bishops. That suggestion had previously been "brought forward in the House of Commons, "to meet the just expectations, not of any bigot-"ed or interested champions of intolerance, but "men of the purest intentions and most enlight-"ened judgment. Men, willing to do all justice "to the loyalty of your present Bishops, yet not "unreasonably alarmed at *the possibility by which* "*functions of such extensive influence might here-*"*after be connected with a foreign interest,* hos-"tile to the tranquillity of your country.—A "danger recently very much increased by the "captivity and deposition of the Head of your "Church, by the seizure of his dominions, and "by the declared intention of that hostile govern-"ment to assume, in future, the exclusive no-"mination of his successors."* Thus ground-ing the introduction of this novel and unheard-of VETO on the present unhappy condition of the Head of the Church, from which he infers those

* This idea was, for the *first time,* started by Mr. Grattan in the House of Commons, and by the Duke of Norfolk in the House of Lords, on the last discussion of the subject. It was this *unauthorized* suggestion that led to the unanimous resolution of the Bishops, and the controversy in the *Morning Chronicle,* which, according to all appearance, disposed of the VETO for ever.

future dangers to the tranquillity of the country.

Now, Sir, I appeal to your own understanding, as well as to that of every liberal man at all acquainted with Ecclesiastical History, whether this is not a most unjust, unfair, and uncandid conclusion? Had I been told that this Noble Lord, who possesses so clear, so accurate, and discriminating an intellect, had formed such a conclusion, I should not have believed it, if I had not such an authentic document as his own letter before me. But with this document I can only observe, with sorrow and humiliation, on the peculiarly hard fate of my Catholic countrymen, who seem, on all occasions, to be made the *ludibrium* of every class of politicians, whether friends or foes.

Well might a French author say, that "of all "people the Catholics of Ireland were the most "hardly dealt with;—that the English, who "profess so much good faith in all their Trea-"ties, have never observed one with them from "the capitulation of Limerick down to the me-"morable æra of the Union, when Lord Corn-"wallis issued an official proclamation, promis-"ing, in the event of their concurring in that "measure, that their civil rights should be re-"stored."

I appeal to yourself, Mr. Editor, for the truth

of this statement, though made for obvious purposes by an enemy.

Lord Cornwallis, unquestionably, held out *complete and unconditional emancipation* to the Catholics, as the reward of their acquiescence in the UNION. And we find, upon Mr. Pitt's resignation, this Treaty acknowledged and ratified in the following forcible expressions:—"Should "the Catholics be sensible of the benefits they "possess, by having so many characters of emi- "nence, (viz. PITT and Co.) *pledged* NOT TO "EMBARK IN THE SERVICE OF GO- "VERNMENT, EXCEPT ON THE TERMS "OF CATHOLIC PRIVILEGES BEING "OBTAINED; it is to be hoped, that on ba- "lancing the advantages and disadvantages of "their situation, they would prefer a quiet and "peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of "an opposite description."—(*Vide Lord Cornwallis's Address, or rather Proclamation, to the Catholics of Ireland.*)

Lord Grenville was at that time a leading Member of the Administration, and, of course, a party to this engagement:—but he has since accepted office, along with other of the contracting parties, without insisting upon this as a *preliminary measure.* I appeal with confidence, to that Noble Lord's candor, if, *at that period,* it

had ever occurred to his mind, or that of any of his seceding colleagues, to *trammel the Catholic Prelacy of Ireland with any such condition as this accursed* VETO, which seems now to be thrown out, like the *apple of discord,* as if we were never to be *cordially united?*

But, Sir, to return to Lord Grenville's alarms as to the danger to the State from the Pope's present situation: I beg leave to inform his Lordship, a slight review of the history of the Catholic Church may satisfy him, that even all the usurping power of the person who now holds the Pope in captivity, can effect no essential change in its constitution. I can assure you, Sir, that no man well acquainted with that constitution, *which is the freest in the world,* can entertain this argument for a moment.—The Catholic Church has suffered all those persecutions foretold by its founder, and yet *sustained its unity unbroken,* under greater tyrants than even Bonaparte. But without entering into the history of the cruelties inflicted on the primitive Christians by the Roman Emperors, suffice it, that when, by art and intrigue, and those violent contentions to which human infirmity will always give rise, the Pastors of that Church appeared to be most depressed, they arose with renovated energy; and having approved themselves worthy to tread in the steps of HIM,

who declared, that "*his kingdom was not of this* "*world,*" they have left a solemn lesson to those who may succeed them.

Of this description I know not, in the history of Europe, any nation that has suffered in the same degree with the Catholics of Ireland. Surely, then, Sir, it is too much to expect that they should be called upon now to violate their principles after having, with the most exemplary patience and fortitude, borne up against the most rigorous persecution for more than two centuries, during which they have literally verified the observations of the learned Thuanus, viz. "That fire and "sword, exile and proscription, rather irritate "than heal the distemper which has its place "in the mind. These only affect the body; but "judicious and edifying doctrine, gently in-"stilled, enters into the heart. Other things are "regulated at the discretion of the civil Magis-"trate, and *consequently of the Sovereign.* Reli-"gion alone is not subject to command, but is "infused into well prepared minds, from a pre-"conceived opinion of the truth with the con-"currence of divine grace.—Tortures have no "influence on her. In fact, they rather tend to "make men obstinate, than to subdue or per-"suade them. What the Stoicks boasted with "so much parade of their wisdom, applies with

" far more justice to religion. Affliction and " pain have no power over the religious. All " misfortunes vanish before the virtuous resolu- " tion which that preconceived opinion inspires. " Confiding in the support of God's grace, the " religious man is content to suffer, and the ills, " to which mortality is liable, he takes to himself " without complaint.

The best elucidation of those principles will be found in the conduct of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, which I slightly glanced at, when this question was first mooted in the *Morning Chronicle*, in the month of October, 1808.

Is it, then, to be tolerated, that after having resisted "*The emaciating cruelty of barbarous laws,*" during the long period already stated, the CATHOLIC CHURCH OF IRELAND SHALL DISGRACE ITS CHARACTER AND BECOME SCHISMATIC, in order to give half-a-dozen Peers the chance of an elective seat in the House of Lords, and a few Gentlemen an opportunity of being returned to the House of Commons.

Lord Grenville seems apprehensive that the captivity of the Pope, and the declared hostility of Bonaparte, might bring about a change in the constitution of the Catholic Church of Ireland, injurious in its consequence to the State.

Those fears remind me of an old observation,

viz. " *Ubi Papa Ibi Roma.*"* Now, Sir, the page of history tells us, that this is the most absurd of all fancies, as the constitution of the Church was never influenced by such accidental circumstances. We have seen two Popes at one time without at all influencing that † Constitution; and should Bonaparte carry his vengeance so far as to treat the Pope as he has done TOUSSAINT and the Duke of ENGHIEN, that cannot influence the *doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church, which admits of no accommodation to time or circumstances, much less to the political purposes of Statesmen.*

The Catholic Bishops of Ireland, (*consistent in all times*) *fully and explicitly* promulgated those truths at their Synod in Dublin,‡ which has

* The Writer observes, with the greatest satisfaction, that in the interval between the writing and publishing this Letter, the Catholic Committee in Dublin have, in a manner that reflects immortal honour on them, rejected this VETO.—Remote from all communication, the Writer (both on the former occasion already alluded to, as well as on the present) consulted only his own judgment, which, he is happy to find confirmed by the unanimous sentiments of his Catholic countrymen, as the annexed document so fully proves. Indeed, without running into *downright schism at once*, the decision could not be otherwise. It may appear a smooth and easy course in the opinion of Lord Grenville to grant the control of the Veto to the King, but there is still a much smoother, shorter, and

† Machival. ‡ Voltaire says three.

drawn from the Noble Lord the following *castigating* reflections:—" I learnt, however, with

easier course to reconcile all differences on this subject, viz. to acknowledge the KING at once HEAD OF THE CATHOLIC, AS HE IS OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH. This will make short work of it—and will put it out of the reach of the Eldons, the Redesdales, the Percevals, the Forsters, the Duigenans, (*Oh nomen execrabile!*) *et id genus omne*, to abuse the confidence of their sovereign, and to erect fortunes on the degradation of their Catholic countrymen. But this is a measure which will scarcely be adopted even by the *Cisalpine Club*, and the *protesting Catholics of England*, with my friend HARRY CLIFFORD at their head.

Extract.—At a meeting of the Catholics of the County of Donegal, held at Letterkenny, on Thursday the 25th day of January, 1810,

Resolved.—" That it is with infinite surprize we observe the subject of the VETO again agitated in the public prints, which we conceived had been finally decided by our Bishops. After the lapse of so many years, during which our respected prelates conducted the spiritual affairs of our church with patience, under many trying circumstances, with zeal in the faithful discharge of their duty as clergymen, and with unimpeached loyalty to his Majety's person and government, we cannot admit any pretended necessity of safety in the state (in the event of our emancipation), should authorize the conveying a power, so vitally affecting the safety of the Catholic religion in this country. If considered as a compromise, it would, in our humble apprehension, be most ungracious, and would brand, with implied disaffection, a body of men, who for their learning, virtues, and sufferings, stand, perhaps, unparalleled in Europe." Sentiments re-echoed through the whole kingdom.

" deep and heart-felt regret, the subsequent pro-
" ceedings which took place in Ireland in conse-
" quence of this suggestion. To discuss the
" grounds of those proceedings would be foreign
" from my present purpose. Their effect obvi-
" ously must be, not only to revive expiring pre-
" judices, but to clog with fresh embarrassment
" every future consideration of any of the mea-
" sures connected with your petitions. To my-
" self, unquestionably, the difficulty of originat-
" ing at this time any fresh discussion of those
" measures, does, in such circumstances, appear
" almost impossible."

It appears, then, from the *dictum* of the Noble Lord, that unless the *Catholic Bishops retract their solemn act* he will not present the Petitions of the *Catholic Laity*. Now, Sir, give me leave to ask that Noble Lord, what necessary connexion exists between this *exacted change in the ancient system of the Catholic Church, which we have seen, during so many ages, and under such dreadful circumstances, preserving its unity,* and the restoration of the *Civil Rights of the Catholic Nobility and Gentry,* for which the faith of Government has been so solemnly pledged? Really, Sir, as my friend *Partridge* says, this is a "*non sequitur.*" Not one word relating to the affairs of the Church has been introduced in all the Pe-

titions presented on this subject to both Houses of Parliament.

That some regulations relating to the state of the Catholic Clergy should *follow* a compliance with the prayer of those Petitions, I think perfectly right and natural; but that any such *previous stipulation* should be tacked as a condition with that compliance, I consider as rank an act of injustice as any of those we so loudly and justly reprobate in Bonaparte; and which, I confidently hope, will be unanimously scouted by the Catholic Bishops, whose virtue, fidelity, and enduring patience, have commanded the admiration of the Christian world.

Surely, Sir, after having so long, and in so signal a manner, withstood persecution in all its worst shapes, they will hardly be tempted to give in at the *eleventh hour*. The period of their complete emancipation is *marked*—that which I have, in the following words, already indicated, in the dedication of the late Lord Petre's excellent and unanswerable tract, on this subject, to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

" But the day when their sufferings shall cease
" is not far distant: that day which (confound-
" ing their enemies) will give your Royal High-
" ness your proper influence in the administration
" of that empire, over which, in the due course

" of things, you will be called to rule.—To your " Royal Highness's wisdom and avowed princi- " ples they look up with the fullest assurance of " redress, and a restoration to the *rank of Sub- " jects and Gentlemen, in the land of their fa- " thers!*

PUBLICOLA.

26th January, 1810.

SUNDAY REVIEW, MARCH 11, 1810.

THE VETO—THE OBNOXIOUS VETO!!

I ASSURE you, with great truth, Mr. EDITOR, that I never read this most hateful word without emotion, as it recalls to my mind how much it served as a *tocsin* in the mouths of the sanguinary revolutionists of France, to kindle the rage of that infuriated nation against one of the best monarchs that ever swayed a sceptre. I need scarcely name Louis XVI. or Louis *le bon*,* who had the happiness of his people so much at heart, that he was heard to say, "*his Minister, Turgot, and he, were "the only persons in the country who had any re-"gard for them;*" and whose mind was so entirely untainted with any notions of exercising

* Louis was a good, but a weak Prince; his constant study was the happiness of his people; and yielding to the spurious doctrines of the Economists and Enuplapœdists, he became a party to his own ruin. Turgot was a disciple of the Economists, which commenced about 1760, and attained to great celebrity in 1768. Their object was foreseen at that early period by the Author of La Gazette Literaire de l'Europe, and openly denounced in L'Observateur Anglais ou Correspondance entre Milord All Eye, et Milord All Ear; but Louis, without guile, himself, could not be brought to suspect it in others; a sentiment that proved fatal to himself and ruinous to his race.

the despotic authority he possessed, that on another occasion, when M. de Malsherbes resigned, he observed, "*Que vous etes heureux, Monsieur ! "que je puisse me'n aller aussi !*" "How happy "you are, Sir! Would that I could resign too!"

Although no such consequences can be apprehended in this instance, yet I see, with extreme grief, that this *Veto* is likely to breed discord among us also. Feeling this sentiment as strongly as I do, I confess I hardly ever read a document with more heart-felt concern than Lord Grenville's letter on that subject—nor are my alarms diminished by reading in this day's *Morning Chronicle,* the following short, but most pregnant paragraph:—"Last Friday, at a meeting of the "General Committee held in Dublin, attended "by four hundred members, the following Reso- "lution was unanimously agreed to:—

"*That as Irishmen, and as Catholics, we never "can consent to any dominion or controul whatso- "ever, over the appointment of our Prelates, on "the part of the Crown, or of the servants of "the Crown.*"

Thus, unfortunately, has arisen an irreconcileable difference between the Catholics and one of their most powerful champions.

I had anticipated, as my last letter will shew, that this difference would happen; and feeling the extreme embarrassment which must arise from

it, I would have, with the greatest deference, submitted to Lord Grenville the following considerations—Supposing himself and his colleagues restored to power, and supposing at length the King brought to acquiesce in the measure of *Catholic Emancipation*, upon condition that the Catholic Prelacy would agree to this same *Veto*, (which they assuredly would not, *nor indeed could they, without such a general delegation* from the whole body of the Clergy assembled to give their consent, as would furnish a glorious theme to the *No Popery banditti)*, would he not find himself in a most painful dilemma.

I would intreat his Lordship seriously to pause here, and ask himself, if he could think it consistent with the common principles of justice (laying aside every other consideration with which this subject teems), to withhold from the Catholic *Nobility and Gentry* their *acknowledged rights*, on account of such refusal on the part of the Clergy?

As well may Bonaparte retract the permission granted to the French Nobility and Gentry to return to their country, because the Bishop of St. Poll de Leon, and other conscientious, or (as they were denominated at the time) *refractory* Bishops, refused to accept the *Concordat*.

This is too glaring an absurdity to waste argument upon, and yet such precisely is the pre-

dicament his Lordship stands in, when he declines presenting the Catholic Petition, unless this measure be previously conceded—although that Petition does not contain a *single sentence* relative to the Clergy.

How, in fact, are those Bishops to profit, even in the event of the prayer of this Petition being granted?

If the Catholic Nobility be admitted to take their seats in the House of Lords, will those Prelates be allowed to take theirs among their brethren of the lawn sleeves? But that is neither thought of, nor even *wished for*. Certain I am, that there is not an enlightened Catholic in Ireland who would wish it. They do not wish to see their Prelacy, who even in their present state of *apostolic poverty*, are held in general respect, not only by those of their own persuasion, but by all other sects, withdrawn from the discharge of their *pastoral duties*, and embroiling themselves in the vile cabals and intrigues of politicians. They do not wish to see them sacrifice the dignity of their sacred functions to forward the base purpose of some Minister, or some Minister's underling—perhaps not a whit more entitled to respect than Spencer Perceval or George Rose; they do not, in short, wish to afford them any temptation to imitate the example of another Prelacy, thus described by a celebrated and very

enlightened *English Divine*, who *knew them well*, and who declares, that, "till our defenders of "Christianity do more than they have most of "them hitherto done, as to affording the world this "conviction, that they are really in earnest themselves; particularly till our Bishops leave off procuring commendams, and heaping up riches and "preferments on themselves, their relations and "favourites: nay, till they correct their non-"residence; till they leave the Court, the Parliament, and their politics, and go down to their "several dioceses, and there labour in the vineyard of Christ, instead of standing most part of "the day idle in the metropolis, they may write "what learned Vindications and Pastoral Letters "they please, the observing unbelievers will not be "satisfied are in earnest, and by consequence will "be little moved by all their arguments and exhortations."—*(Vide Whiston's Life of Clarke.)*

This, Mr. Editor, is a very strong picture, drawn by a very bold and masterly hand; but who those Bishops thus painted *were*, I will not presume to guess. Fortunately not a feature of it can be recognized in ours, who, God bless them, meek and gentle souls, never meddle in politics; never seek pluralities; nay, never submit even to be consecrated without an absolute refusal, which refusal is just as sincere as the reluctance they afterwards manifest to be translated from a

poorer to a richer see. No! No! —They, "dis-
"tribute to all in want, with righteousness, and
"succour the poor, the orphans, the widows, the
"afflicted, and the strangers in distress, as hav-
"ing that God for the Examiner of their ac-
"counts who has committed this disposal to
"them!!"

Alas! Alas, Yorick! thou knewest something of these matters!

I assure you, Mr. Editor, the Catholics of Ireland are too enlightened to wish for any of those things; and I am equally satisfied that those virtuous characters themselves would be equally averse to any change in their system. Why, then, cram this *abominable Veto* down their throats?

Why this *forced marriage* with *Monsieur Veto?*—It reminds one of Squire Western forcing his daughter to marry Blyfill, the man she loathed; and swearing, that, by the marriage, he would make her happy, though he broke her heart.

The whole Catholic Body, *whether Clergy or Laity,* are unanimously against it; but, as if by *a certain fatality,* it now appears that, by rejecting it, they will convert some of their most powerful friends into enemies; so that, even in the event on which their expectations lately rested—a change of Ministers—their cause is still hopeless. Sad and singular fate indeed!!!

Lord Grenville's Letter, and the Resolution already quoted, throw the parties at too great a distance from each other to leave hope for accommodation.

With the Catholics it is now "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*"—Who shall arbitrate between them?—Bonaparte?—Heaven forbid.——

After all, what is there reprehensible in this conduct?—The Catholic Prelates do not choose, as *Luther* remarks, to the reproach of his friend, *Erasmus*, "To carry themselves according to the times;" and, as the proverb says, "Hang the cloak according to the wind."

They are alarmed at any *innovation* in a system which has existed since Christianity has been perfectly established among them:—And is Lord Grenville the man to censure this feeling! I had imagined that no man in the world was more averse to introduce *novelties* than his Lordship.

It may be impertinent in me to point out authorities, upon that or any other subject to the *Chancellor of Oxford*, and yet I cannot but remind him of the words of the *immortal Bacon*,* which exactly apply:

"All novelty, though, perhaps, it must be re-

* Mr. Burke, inferior only to Lord Bacon, expresses the same sentiment in his memorable letter to the Duke of Bedford.—"*Change is novelty; and whether it is to operate any*

"jected, yet ought ever to be held suspected; "and, as the Scripture says, '*State super vias an-*" *tiquas*,' make a stand upon the ancient ways, "and then look about us and discover what is "the straightest and rightest way, and then walk "in it."

This is precisely the course I would humbly recommend. Let us get rid of the *political part* of the question first, and we shall then be the more ready and better inclined to act with one common feeling, as circumstances may hereafter require. Better, surely, adopt this mild and sober proceeding, than go on—*à la prophetie Turgotine*—a prophecy, as an eloquent writer says, "Alas! too cruelly verified by the rapine, "the massacres, the regicides, and the sacrilege "which have succeeded."*

"*one of the effects of reformation at all, or whether it may not,*
"*contradict the very principle on which reformation is desired.*
"*cannot be certainly ascertained before hand.*"

* The proceedings of the Economists, at the head of whom was Mons. Turgot, justly alarmed all the reflecting and judicious part of the French nation—or, as they might properly be called, the friends of the Throne and the Altar, who saw how inconsistent with the security of both, were the rash and violent measures pursued by that Sect, against which an elegant and pointed satire was circulated in Paris, giving an ironical description of all the blessings France would enjoy when their schemes were brought to perfection, one stanza of which we shall content ourselves with. After enumerating the mar-

The recent conduct of the *English* Catholics will, in all probability, be alledged on this occasion; but let it be remembered *that they have no church*; that they long since abandoned their establishment: and as to their Vicars apostolic, and Bishops of *Centuria* or God knows where, they may resolve what they please, or accede to any Ministerial proposition, be it what it may, they are too insignificant to be drawn into any comparison with the Catholic Church of Ireland, which never sacrificed an iota of its essential integrity. Of the English Catholic Body I shall say but little. The spirit that was wont to animate it is departed. The late Lord Petre, was more ennobled by the qualities of his heart, than by all the titles Kings could confer on him, yet he with all his zeal could never prevail on them to use any real efficient efforts for their liberation. Their present conduct, however, must strike every liberal mind as very extraordinary. Without even lending the smallest aid of any sort to their

vellous changes that would happen then, the Poet states among others,

Puis devenus vertueux
Par Philosophie,
Les Francois auront des Dieux
A leur fantaisie.

Witness THEOPHILANTROPY, &c.

N. B. This Poem was published in the year 1777.

Irish fellow-sufferers throughout this long, expensive, and arduous struggle for their common rights, they step in now, as it were, to disavow the principle they have uniformly acted on, by expressing their satisfaction in any measure of security Government may require. If I am not much mistaken, every liberal mind, of whatever sort, will think this very strange conduct on the part of GENTLEMEN and MEN of HONOUR. One glorious dissenter from this proceeding I perceive among them—Dr. Milner.*

I feel it due to the character of this distinguished Prelate to state, that he has stood alone in his opposition.

Eminent for his learning, and honoured by all who have the happiness of his acquaintance, Dr. Milner has preserved the dignity of his character. It remains for those more competent than I am to the task, to render justice to his virtues and talents.

I deeply regret the painful necessity of speaking thus harshly of the English Catholic Committee; but to a man who has no selfish or si-

* It is not a little singular in the life of Dr. Milner, who is now I see become the object of attack by those of his own communion, that he should have been selected many years ago by the Author of the "Pursuits of Literature," for his most vehement and outrageous invectives. But HE who escaped unhurt from the scalping-knife of Dr. Mathias, has little to fear from the edgeless instrument of Dr. Poynter.

nister views for engaging in a cause, Truth must be his guide. And it is doubly painful to find among that all-complying Committee, some names for whom I feel the highest individual respect.

But, Sir, not to trespass too much on your paper, I shall now close those hasty observations on a subject in which I confess my feelings have ever been deeply interested; and I do so with the more satisfaction, as I hear it is committed into the hands of that nobleman, to whom, above all others, it properly, nay, *peculiarly* belongs. I understand that the Earl of Moira is to present the petition; and to those acquainted with the part he took on this question, many years ago, *before petitions were presented, or Committees dared to meet,* it must appear very extraordinary that any other person should *ever* have been thought of.*

* The writer was misinformed on this point, the Earl of Donoghmore, to whose spirited conduct and patriotic zeal his country is so much indebted, having since presented the petition. But in every other respect, what relates to Lord Moira is correctly stated, and the writer hopes he will be pardoned for republishing the letter he wrote on the occasion of his Lordship's announcing his intention of proposing the measure of Catholic Emancipation in the Irish House of Lords, together with two or three others not *immediately* relative to the question of the *Veto*, but which he feels to be necessary for the purpose of shewing the People of England the absolute necessity of removing at once those vile restrictions upon Catholic courage and loyalty.

It is still in our recollection under what circumstances of intimidation that nobleman went to Ireland, and proposed this measure in his place, in the House of Lords, at a time when *the murderous fury of the Patricidal faction was at its height;* and Lord Clare threw out *pretty broad hints* here that his Lordship might *repent of his rashness.* Undeterred by such menaces, although his mansion-house was ransacked, or rather gutted* by the Government forces, and would have been levelled with the ground, if the *artillery officer* had not, much to his honour, refused to obey the orders he received. His Lordship, with the true spirit of a Patriot, urged the necessity of embracing the Catholics within the pale of the Constitution, and I believe stood alone on the occasion.

Should the hour of danger arrive, when the Master of Europe may attempt to make himself *Master of Ireland* (for which his Majesty's Ministers are diligently preparing every facility), then will the

* It will appear extraordinary, but so the fact is, that the *Rebels, as they were called,* were for many days, I believe about twenty, in possession of Lord Moira's house, without doing the slightest injury in the world; and what may appear incredible, that they never even touched the cellar; but the instant the King's troops and the *Loyal* Yeomanry Corps entered it, they plundered it from top to bottom, tore the cellar doors open, and destroyed all they could not consume.

value of his conduct be appreciated, and the influence of his name be felt in rallying his Catholic countrymen around the standard of their Sovereign; and surely it is not too much to say, in the animating words of the sublime poet—

——" Quo non prestantior alter.
" Ære ciere viros Martemque accendere Cantu."

PUBLICOLA.

March 7, 1810.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

MORNING CHRONICLE, Dec. 25, 1797.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne.

My Lord,

In a great crisis great men are always looked up to by those inferior beings who are not capacitated to vindicate their own rights.

Of this class I confess myself, and therefore take the liberty of addressing you upon the most critical and eventful period that has ever occurred in the History of England.

The subject on which I would wish to fix your attention is one in which your personal interests so nearly coincide with those sentiments of general liberty which have characterized your whole political life, that I have only to fear my appeal to the expanded principles of THE PATRIOT STATESMAN may be narrowed into a mere regard to the particular and local concerns of the interested individual. But higher considerations than those which attach to any individual prompt me to address your Lordship.

The present oppressed and horrible state of your *Parent Country* has been described in such

glowing colours by the Earl of Moira as to leave you no alternative between an utter dereliction both of your Duties and Rights (which, like allegiance and protection, are reciprocal), and an *immediate* and *active exertion* of those faculties with which you are so eminently endowed, towards the salvation of Ireland.

To attempt any rhetorical flourishes with the view of exciting your horror against the *cruel, cowardly,* and *despotic* system now practised in that devoted land, or to create a more lively degree of indignation against the *abandoned, ignorant, and wicked junto, under whose ill-omened auspices* that system is attempted to be carried into effect, is as abhorrent from my mind as I am persuaded it is unnecessary to my purpose. The picture is too hideous for any but a cannibal to dwell on, and except to the *Man-eating Savage,* or the more detestable *Man-slaying Minister,* by whose sanguinary orders such deeds are perpetrated, can only punish the most afflicting sensations. I shall therefore limit myself simply to the object of my address, which is to call you to the performance of your duties as a Peer of Ireland. How urgent, how importunate these duties are, not only for the salvation of Ireland but of the whole British Empire, it needs not my feeble pen to describe, after the solemn and heart-rending statement so recently

brought forward by one of the most exalted characters that ever adorned, not only that Country but human nature itself.

So to speak of the Earl of Moira is but to re-echo the general voice of mankind, for, however various and adverse our opinions are of other men, *he stands alone an unimpeached example of* BENEFICENCE, PATRIOTISM, AND LOYALTY.

This NOBLEMAN has, my Lord, intimated his intention of agitating the present state of Ireland in his *place* as a *Peer* of *that country;* and from the complexion of affairs there is too much reason to fear that he will be as languidly supported on that occasion as he has been here when endeavouring to meliorate the condition of his unjustly oppressed, incarcerated fellow creature.

The voice of corruption will be raised against him.

Interested, servile and unprincipled Beings, who have by the most profligate courses made their way to the Peerage, will range themselves in battle array, and contending for their ill-gotten places and pensions, bear down by the force of numbers the unanswerable argument of this enlightened and Philanthropic Patriot.

Should such a man, my Lord, be left alone in such a conflict? A conflict in which, as reason and justice can have no influence, he must neces-

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sarily be defeated, Forbid it honour, forbid it virtue, and even forbid it National Pride.

Many, too many of the Peers of Ireland reside in this country, wholly neglecting their legislative functions. But, my Lord, you, whose political sagacity cannot be disputed even by that misguided and infatuated, I may also add, ungrateful Minister who, *lamentabile dictu*, now hold the reins of Government, and who owes his political existence chiefly to your ill placed patronage, must be well aware of the storm which is brooding in a foreign hemisphere, and which without precautions *timely, vigorous,* and *effectual,* must eventually burst upon and carry certain devastation through your native Land.

In order to suppress those horrid scenes which the noble Lord, whom I have already mentioned, (whose name cannot too often recur to the admirers of valour, genius and virtue) hath so feelingly described, and to guard against those horrors (*quos Deus avertat*) with which the present system is so abundantly pregnant, it is, that I presume to summon your Lordship to the discharge of the most sacred duty you have ever yet fulfilled —namely, that which devolves upon you at this important crisis as a peer of Ireland.

We live, my Lord, in a revolutionary period. What may be the effect of the massacres and

oppressions daily committed in that unhappy country no man can presume to calculate—

There it may be truly said that "*Each new "morn new widows howl, new orphans cry, new "sorrows strike Heaven on the face, that it re-"sounds as if it felt with Ireland, and yelled out "like syllable of dolour:*" And, my Lord, I believe the experience of all history unequivocally proves that, on such occasions, "*To end one "doubt by death revives two greater in the heirs of "life.*"

At this rate Ireland bids fair to produce the richest crop, not only of doubt but disaffection, that was ever yet reaped by the despoiling hands of an improvident and merciless government, not even excepting that of Roberspierre. What then, my Lord, becomes of your immense property? What becomes of those ORDERS, for the preservation of which we have been plunged into this *blessed crusade,* which is likely to terminate in our utter annihilation as an IMPERIAL PEOPLE!!!

Notwithstanding all the declamatory libels vociferated by Ministers, and their venal hirelings against the *imputed* rapacity of the French Government, yet it is an absolute truth that their conduct towards those very countries they conquered *by force of arms is lenity itself* when compared with the present system in Ireland.—And "*when lenity and cruelty play for a Kingdom it*

" *will be always found that the* gentle gamester is " the soonest winner."

This then my Lord, is the moment to step forward and boldly assert your Country's rights, now so flagrantly outraged. If that career of cruelty and wickedness which the Government of that country is now running can be at all checked, it is only by the presence and the most energetic opposition of those great names who derive an influence, not only from large property, but from the hereditary respect attached to their families.

You, my Lord, stand amongst the foremost of the ancient nobles of that country, and besides this advantage you enjoy others which cannot fail to give effect to your exertions. The respect and influence which ever accompany splendid talents, profound knowledge, long experience, and those eminent stations you have filled in the service of your Sovereign.

Ireland has hitherto been considered as too humble a scene for the display of those abilities which so particularly distinguish such numbers of her ungrateful sons. But this is not a moment for trifling.—Your stake in that Country is too great to be looked on with indifference. Should the property attached to the EARLDOM OF SHELBURNE be transferred by any public convulsion into other hands, I submit to your Lordship that

the MARQUISATE OF LANSDOWNE would be little more than a "*Feather in your Cap,*" you are, therefore bound as much by *interest* as by *principle* to take the most active part in the affairs of your afflicted Country at this awful and ominous crisis.

The illustrious Nobleman to whom I have already alluded, has held out a laudable example to you and all the Peers of Ireland. Many of those, however, are neither connected with the Country by the ties of property, kindred or national feelings; yet even to them the crisis so rapidly approaching is deeply interesting, in as much as they wish to preserve those *titles* for which they have bartered their *property* and their consciences. But to you, my Lord, and to those other Noblemen, who possess immense Estates in that Country, the appeal comes with double force.—That your Lordship may feel the appeal and exert your acknowledged abilities in vindication of "my *poor Country*;" that the voice of reason and justice may at length be heard, and the crying grievances of "a *miserable Nation*" speedily redressed, is the earnest prayer of

Your Lordship's

Respectful servant,

HIBERNUS.

London, Dec, 17, 1797.

SUNDAY REVIEW, 27th April, 1806.

To the Catholics of Ireland, residing in and near the Metropolis.

" Esse nonnullos quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum " valeat, qui *privati*, plus possint, quam IPSI MAGISTRATUS."

LISCUS AD CÆSAREM.

THE present crisis appeals with more force to the feelings of the Catholic Body of Ireland than any other period in our history since the commencement of their political thraldrom, and the infliction of the persecuting Statutes. The changes which have taken place in the Councils of their Sovereign, offering, as they do, the only hope of salvation to the empire at large, present to this class of subjects motives for congratulation peculiar to themselves.

Degraded, libelled, and most falsely represented as they have been during the whole period of the Hanoverian succession, to his present Majesty alone are they indebted for a relaxation of that cruel code which recognized them as subjects, only to expose them to persecution.

To his Majesty's clemency the Catholics of Ireland feel and acknowledge obligations, the weight and importance of which can only be appreciated by generous minds, released from an ignominious servitude inflicted by the oppressive hand of power, which, in every stage and gradation of society, not only promoted but endeavoured to perpetuate the severest aggravation of their sufferings. Such, in a few words, has been the condition of the Irish Catholics, wofully despoiled and basely trampled upon, since the flagrant violation of the capitulation of Limerick until the year 1778. Then the first link in the chain of their slavery snapt, and the clemency of their Sovereign, keeping pace with the progress of human improvement, released them from the galling severity of that pressure under which they had so long, so unjustifiably, but so patiently suffered.

Since that memorable and auspicious period, the penal code has, under various circumstances, and from motives not now to be considered, diminished so much as scarce "*to leave a wreck* "*behind.*"

It is to remove that remaining stigma upon the assured loyalty of the Catholics of Ireland—to expose to the view of their Sovereign the secret recesses of their hearts, and to convince him, in the most unequivocal manner, of the sentiments

of devotion which they entertain for his PERSON and GOVERNMENT, sentiments emanating as well from the precepts of their religious faith as from a principle of gratitude for those gracious and benign marks of the Royal Favour which they have experienced—that the Irish Catholics residing in and near this metropolis feel it their particular duty, at this AWFUL CRISIS, to approach the Throne with an Address, expressive of their sentiments and hopes.

When, in the unadulterated language of the heart, those genuine feelings of loyalty and patriotism with which they are animated are fairly stated, THEN will the Catholics of Ireland, with a manly and becoming confidence, have reason to expect, that as the glorious work of their deliverance began with his Majesty's reign, they will, under the advice of those distinguished *Characters* he has lately called to his Councils, be enabled to hail him as a FATHER, dispensing, *without distinction or preference*, his paternal regard to them, as well as to the rest of his People; AND THEN may be called forth into action that *enthusiastic energy* which the times require, and which the IRISH CATHOLICS so ardently cherish in their breasts, but which, *during the continuance of any one Statute of Catholic disqualification, must be paralyzed!!!*

This is a state of things which ought not, *cannot long endure.* That illustrious Statesman, against whom the same unfortunate prejudices had long prevailed in the Royal Mind, as the Catholics are told, but, it is to be hoped, falsely told, prevail against the measure of their final and complete emancipation, has openly declared in the House of Commons, *" That if the affections " of Ireland be properly cultivated, there is a " fund of security in its population of brave men " that no Sovereign in the world possesses in any " country of the same number of acres."*——That great Statesman well knows and duly appreciates the Irish temper and disposition.—Perhaps the history of the world does not exhibit an instance of a people enduring, as the Irish have done, six hundred years of incessant tyranny (a tyranny so mean and vile as to aim at vitiating every tie of moral and social intercourse), yet still retaining all the original traits of their national character. Let us then justify the proud panegyric Mr. Fox has passed upon us: let us, at this GREAT and AWFUL CRISIS, shew ourselves worthy the manly character of our forefathers, and put to shame that fell race of tyrants and libellers, that *have crimsoned Ireland with the blood of its best and bravest sons.* Let us at once boldly and generously stand forward, and give an example to all

the rest of his Majesty's subjects of the purity of our principles, and the ardour of our zeal.

A dutiful Address, couched in such plain and honest terms as befit our condition and character, cannot fail to have its due influence on the Royal Mind. Upon a partial redress of our grievances in the year 1782, we furnished the British Navy with 20,000 brave volunteers. Our national pride and spirit are not diminished. The full and complete restoration of our civil rights being conceded, we may, without presumption, hope, that, as the venerable O'Leary observed, "*half* "*disciplined by the nature of our sports and* "*exercises,*" we shall, at this eventful period, furnish such a gallant band of volunteers, in aid of our common country, as will satisfy our gracious Sovereign, that in his whole dominions he has not subjects more zealous and devoted than his Catholic subjects of Ireland.

In order to afford an opportunity of ascertaining every man's sentiments on this subject, and that no distinction should prevail *on the score of wealth, or other circumstances merely accidental,* a GENERAL MEETING will be held at a convenient place, of which due notice will be given, and where the most respectful attention will be paid to the opinion of every man, be his rank or station in life what it may.

It may appear pedantic to introduce Latin

quotations in an address of this sort; but there is one so apposite that it cannot well be omitted, and it is among the peculiar traits of character which distinguish the Catholics of Ireland, that many of those now submitting to offices of the basest drudgery in the metropolis, verifying the character given them by the classic Poet—" Gens " ratione potens, et mentem pasta camœnis," will readily understand it—" Rex vel Princeps prout " ætis cui que prout nobilitas, prout facundia est, " audiuntur, auctoritate *enadendi* magis quam *jubendi* potestate."

For a becoming conduct at this Meeting, let every Irish Catholic in or near the metropolis prepare. The importance of the occasion demands the most scrupulous attention to propriety and decorum. Every man must come impressed with the idea that, by any improper conduct, he may essentially injure the interests of his Country and his Religion.

HIBERNUS.

April 23, 1806.

SUNDAY REVIEW, 17th April, 1808.

THE CATHOLIC PETITION.

A PETITION, from nearly four millions of BRITISH SUBJECTS, for the *simple exercise of their Civil Rights, at this day, and with all surrounding circumstances,* is one of those extraordinary events, that, when related by the historian of future ages, will appear incredible!—Can it be supposed by those who will hereafter read the page of English History, that after such a lavish expenditure of blood and treasure to restore the Catholic Religion in France, (and we may now, 1810, add in Spain) which was uniformly, declared to be an absolute preliminary to the permanent peace of the civilized world, an idea so gross and monstrous could be entertained, as that of withholding from our own fellow-subjects and brethren those very privileges, to restore which to our inveterate enemy we had offered up such hecatombs—to restore which so many children had been left fatherless, so many blooming brides suddenly deprived of their husbands, and so many betrothed maidens left to deplore the cruel and untimely fate of their best beloved—of those gallant men, who, whether impelled by necessity, or tempted by the nobler impulses of ambition, glory,

and patriotism, have shed their blood in restoring the *Throne* and the *Altar* in France—a country in all times, under every dynasty, and under all forms of Government, uniformly hostile to England. Yet such, to the eternal disgrace of those who administer public affairs, is the melancholy fact; and what is still more melancholy and disgraceful, the prayer of this *Petition* will not be granted, and even every cavil, which the knavish casuistry of legal subtlety could invent, has been employed to prevent its being presented. Presented, however, it will be; and if sent back for fresh signatures, there never yet was presented to a Legislature a Petition with such a host of names attached to it; and perhaps *those who can only make their marks are the most to be dreaded.*

Let every naval and military man, who has ever commanded the persons I allude to, say, if it is in nature to display more manly and noble qualities, than those uniformly exhibited in every scene of danger, whether by sea or land, by the *Catholic Peasantry* of Ireland? The answer is easily anticipated, that nothing can exceed their ardor and courage in the field, but their docility and submission to their superiors in every point of strict discipline. If such be the true character of what we are accustomed to denominate *the lower orders,* what may not be expected from the nobler feelings, from the honourable pride, from

the dignified sentiments of those who are stimulated to glorious deeds, by the example of their forefathers, and who are actuated by every feeling and sentiment that can influence generous minds, to vindicate their hereditary virtues, and to assert their just claims to an equality of rank with their fellow-countrymen of every denomination? This is a question which admits of no speculation. England has felt *in its most vital interests* the fact, and our last gallant Monarch (ever be his name revered by every man who values true courage, candour, and sincerity!) with sorrow and indignation acknowledged it, when he found, after victory appeared to hover over his brow at the battle of *Fountenoy*, the fortune of the day was turned on a sudden by his Irish Catholic subjects in the bitterness of his heart cursed those laws which drove such men from his service.

Let those conversant with the history of the various wars of Louis XIV. declare what the conduct of those exiled *Irish Catholics* was in Italy at the siege of Cremona: in Germany at the battle of Malplaquet and Lawfelt, and in every other signal engagement in which they were employed, and in which they gave such proofs of valor, as to excite the jealousy of those whose battles they were fighting, as much as they did the admiration of those against whom they were opposed.

Let us turn from the wars of Louis XIV. to those of the Empress Queen Maria Theresa, and what a proud array of *exiled Irish Catholics* presents itself on that great theatre of military contention? Not fewer than three and thirty General Officers, *at one time* holding the highest and most important posts, whose conduct shed lustre on the military annals of the time in which their virtue and valor were called into action, and met with their appropriate rewards.

If we quit the confines of Germany and extend our view to Russia, who shall we find commanding and reducing from barbarism the savage hordes of Peter the Great, and capacitating them to subdue the Alexander of his day, and the most formidable army then in Europe? Could the spirit of Charles XII. revisit the earth, how readily would he acknowledge, that all his glory was eclipsed, and all his schemes of universal dominion blasted by the superior bravery and discipline of *Irish Catholic Commanders.*

Proceeding from the North to South, let any man conversant with the military history of Spain declare, who held the most military commands and trained and formed the loose and undisciplined rabble, *miscalled* an *army* in that country? No man of common candour can deny this proud distinction to the *Irish Catholic Officers* in that

service. The same truth applies equally to Naples. The share which they had in the Emancipation of America is too recent and too well known to need being mentioned.

If these then, Mr. EDITOR, be incontrovertible truths, and that they are, I defy *Patrick Duigenan*, or any of his filthy hireling libellers to deny, accustomed as he and they are to the foulest and most barefaced calumnies, how monstrous must the conduct of that Government appear in the eye of Reason, Justice, and sound Policy, which, after the lapse of such a period of time, when passion and prejudice have so generally subsided, except, indeed, in the vilest, vulgarest, and basest minds (such as I have just alluded to);—when the bugbear of the *Pope*, the *Devil*, and the *Pretender* are gone to sleep for ever—when the unfounded calumny of keeping no faith with heretics (a doctrine detested by every Roman Catholic, and attributed to them from the wickedest motives, by such as *Duigenan* and *Gifford*), when the Light of Reason has shed its benign influence on man through so many new channels—when *the condition of Europe is completely altered*, and its fate at the disposal of the most extraordinary character that has ever yet appeared, and who never can fill up the measure of his ambition until he has accomplished the annihilation of this

Empire,* I leave to every man possessed of common sense to judge. At such a moment, and under the pressure of such novel and extraordinary circumstances, to shut the door, or rather insultingly and wantonly to slap it in their face, and to outrage their feelings, perhaps, to *final alienation*, must astonish the whole civilized world. But we shall be told that a *certain great Personage* is inflexibly adverse to the claims of the Catholics. It may be so. How consistently, after passing the Quebec Bill, and various other acts, it would be absurd to argue.

The saying of the celebrated writer, "*Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Archivi,*" was perhaps never more applicable, nor can any truth be more easily demonstrated, than the absolute necessity, founded on the soundest policy, of granting the prayer of this Petition, and immediately and cordially admitting our Irish Catholic brethren to the full enjoyment of every constitutional fran-

* Singular as it may seem, at the very period when the Catholic Religion was denounced as dangerous at home the British Government in withdrawing all the treasures from Hanover, took especial care of the Catholic Relics. "La Cour de St. "James eut l'intention sans doute de montrer à l'Europe les "François tels que nos Pères les Normands brûlant et faisant "guerre aux saints, car elle reclame *jusqu'à l'envoie des Re-* "*liques.* Obeissant avec joie, nous encaissâmes le just-au-corps "de la mère de la Sainte Vierge, et un pouce de la main de "St. Marc." What is become of them?

chise, and with them, of course, our countrymen in England, Scotland, and Wales.

Your old Correspondent,

PUBLICOLA.

April 15th, 1808.

The reader will recollect the date of this letter; if Buonaparte was to be dreaded at that period what must be our feelings now, when the Germanic Empire is united to France by the most indissoluble bonds, and all the rest of continental Europe crouches at his feet; when he is preparing naval arsenals in the Adriatic, and proved to the world that Antwerp may again become the Emporium of the commercial world, and that there a whole navy may ride in perfect security?

SUNDAY REVIEW, 24th April, 1808.

STATE OF IRELAND.

In the history of the civilized world, there never was a country so unhappily circumstanced as Ireland is at this moment. Three fourths of its population kept in a constant state of ferment by causes which, in the eye of every sober politician, would appear ridiculous and absurd, if the effect was not so pernicious and disgraceful. One, and indeed the principal cause of dissatisfaction among the higher orders, it appears, can never be removed during the present reign, the refusal to grant, what is commonly called, Catholic Emancipation. But this is not the grievance which chiefly keeps the *mass of the people* in agitation. *They do not indulge in speculative grievances.* The practical ills they endure, from the very construction of the system of Government that grinds them, must, whilst that system lasts, operate as a perpetual stimulus to insurrection and outrage.

Treated by the Land Owners like the Serfs of Russia, while they are instructed by every legal authority to consider themselves as *free men,* and entitled to all the privileges of our matchless and glorious Constitution, their passions are ever afloat, and producing those disgraceful scenes

which nothing but such an anamolous system could occasion.

A half reasoning animal is the most dangerous that can be conceived; and yet such is the state to which the greater part of the population of Ireland is condemned.

Exposed to the harassing and vexatious exactions of petty tyrants; their feelings insulted by their oppressors; and treated as *aliens, if not as outlaws,* in the land of their fathers; subject to impositions to which no other people on earth are liable—a *tax* or a *tithe* for the Clergyman they *never hear,* and another for him that is accused of perverting their principles; what can be expected of such a people thus exposed to every hardship, every indignity and oppression? Just what occurs every day.—The sudden explosion of irregular passions, goaded to insanity by the various wrongs inflicted upon them; and yet how easy would it be for a wise government to remove the cause of all those outrages which we daily see recorded in the columns of our Newspapers. Such a Government would, without any other motive than a sense of moral rectitude, and of the responsibility it owed to those committed to its guidance, seek out every means of allaying discontents arising from causes which, while they exist, must, *as effect necessarily follows cause,* always produce similar consequences. Let it then be asked what

remedy is Government to apply to ameliorate such crying grievances? We shall be told that it is beyond the power of any Government to interfere between the Land Owner and his tenant. True, thanks to the virtue of our brave ancestors, who have given Kings and their base minions who dared to encroach upon the liberty and property of the subject, an *awful lesson on the scaffold,* no King nor Minister dare venture to do so *directly, even in these times,* when the best principles of the Constitution have, under the flimsiest pretexts, been repeatedly violated.

But surely a Government that consulted only the happiness of the governed, nay *its own security,* would not neglect any means of conciliating the affections, and consolidating the whole strength of the population under its controul, particularly at a moment when the combined energies of that population are scarcely equal to sustain it against the machinations of an enemy, whose ambition is without limit, and whose means are proportioned to his ambition.

This being admitted as a sound and necessary principle of policy and justice, the next question is, how are those discontents to be allayed? How are those turbulent people to be satisfied? The answer is easy and obvious—relieve them from the double exaction already alluded to—modify your system in such a manner, that although the

people bear *the same burden (which in the present state of things they must),* yet their feelings are not outraged—their prejudices are not continually kept alive by the necessity of yielding up the tenth part of their property to a clerical instructor, whose lectures they never approach, and who, *though rigorous in enacting his dues,* never approaches them.

Such is the condition of a vast number of the Clergy of the Established Church in Ireland, who have never even seen the church where *their duty required them to officiate regularly* ; and had they even taken the trouble of visiting their *benefice,* they would have found a ruinous building, inhabited only by *owls and bats,* and *midnight ghosts.**

* Vide Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland by Dr. Campbell, Dean of Clogher, article Cashell. "You will "be surprized when I tell you that there is not a roofed church "in this Metropolis; the service being performed in a sorry "room where country courts are held. The choir of the Cathe- "dral was kept in repair, and used as a parish church till within "thirty years, but the situation not being accessible enough, "which however 20*l.* would have rendered so. The roof was "wantonly pulled down, an act of parliament and grant of "money being first obtained to change the scite of the cathedral "from the rock to the town. A new church of ninety feet by "forty-five was accordingly begun and raised as the wall states, "but in that state it has stood for near twenty years."

The writer knows not what change, if any, has taken place since that period, as he has not been fortunate enough to see his native land for more than thirty years, his affections towards it are notwithstanding as strong as if he left it but yesterday.

For it is a well known fact, that in many parts of Ireland the churches and monasteries have remained unroofed, some since the days of Queen Elizabeth, but almost all in the remote parts of the country, since the visitation of that prophet Oliver Cromwell, of *pious memory*. In a word, release the people of Ireland from that most galling and intolerable grievance—the Tithes.

A regard to the feelings of the People being once manifested by the Government, the petty tyranny of the Landlord must cease. Confidence and affection will succeed to distrust and disaffection, and we shall become a happy and a really united empire.

PUBLICOLA.

SUNDAY REVIEW, 19th November, 1809.

" Le tems present est gros de l'avenir." VOLNEY.

To the Editor of the Sunday Review.

SIR,

The distractions which have so long prevailed in Covent Garden Theatre, and the voluminous discussions to which these distractions gave rise, have so completely absorbed all other public questions, that even the disgraceful distractions in his Majesty's Councils may be said to have merged into them, and the state of the country to be entirely lost sight of. Yet if we were for a moment seriously to reflect upon our situation, we should find it to be such as the page of history has not furnished an example of, strictly verifying the words of my motto—that *the present* moment is pregnant with our future destiny. If this be a *ruse de guerre* contrived between the Managers of the Theatre and the Managers of our Public Affairs, I confess it is a very successful one. It may, indeed, be well for the present peace of the Country that this *tub to the whale* has been thrown out to divert the attention of the Public, when it is made manifest by the cri-

SUNDAY REVIEW, December 3d, 1809.

To the Editor of the Sunday Review.

Sir,

In the interval between the writing and publishing my last letter, events have occurred in Ireland, which fully confirm what I stated of the feelings and determination of the Catholics. Meetings during that period have been held in the cities of Cork and Dublin, where the sentiments of that body have been expressed in such a *bold, manly, and determined tone,* that cannot be mistaken by any set of Ministers, however besotted.

Counsellor M'Carthy, and Mr. Power, at the Meeting in Cork, boldly displayed their talents and their patriotism. Their sentiments (corroborated as they are, by those of Counsellor O'Connell, and other able speakers at the general Meeting in Dublin) are decisive on the question. There is no time now left for vacillation; the enemy is at the gate, and *unanimity must be established in the garrison, in order to make an effectual and successful resistance.*

It would, Sir, lead me too far were I to retrace the calamitous events which have thrown Ireland so far behind her sister Island, in all the advantages enjoyed by the latter, which confessedly

is not equally blessed with natural resources. Ireland, poor Ireland! with her fair and hospitable bosom exposed to the wide expanse of the ocean, yielding a ready reception and a secure port to every mariner, and affording such facilities to commercial enterprize, as no other country can boast of; with internal resources which, if they had been properly nursed and cultivated, instead of being, with a jealous and brutish despotism always discouraged, and almost annihilated,* would have made her what nature designed, "the happiest Isle on the ocean," has, since English adventurers set foot on her genial soil, where, it is said, no venemous animal (man alone excepted) can exist, been a prey to every species of anarchy and barbarism. Those adventurers were accomplished in all the military arts of the time: their connection with the continent, and habitual warlike occupations, gave them every advantage over a semi-barbarous people. In

*The poverty of Ireland was chiefly occasioned by that most tyranical statute which prohibited the Woollen Manufacture, which was in a very flourishing state at a period when it was very little cultivated in England. In the southern parts of the country, it had arrived at very great perfection. The Ruins of Killmallock in the county of Limerick, still shew the remains of a town, which was in a very flourishing state when this iniquitous law was passed, but now remains only as a disgraceful monument of the cruelty and injustice of a barbarous and despotic government.

saying this I shall perhaps outrage the pride of some of my countrymen, who, not having bestowed the pains upon studying the history of their country I did at an early period of my life, may feel disposed to treat me, as a gallant comrade did many years ago, in a foreign country, for holding precisely the same language.

But such, certainly, was the state of Ireland when the English adventurers, habituated to martial enterprises, passed over to support one paltry profligate petty prince against another. The *Earl of Strongbow, or Strongwell,* succeeded with a very small number against a disunited Province, and opened the road for a host of other adventurers, who soon found this country another land of Canaan, *a land flowing with milk and honey.* Those adventurers, however, were *gentlemen,* and had no sooner obtained a footing in the country, than they identified themselves with the natives, and became, as the English Historian says to their reproach, "*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores.*" In fact, the English of the pale became afterwards the most strenuous assertors of the independence of Ireland. How different the conduct of that spurious race, vomited on the plains of Erin by the tyranny of succeeding reigns; by Elizabeth; by James, and by William the Third, of *glorious memory!* Those, and their descendants, until a very recent period, oppress-

ed and persecuted the natives in the most savage manner; so much so, that expatriation became the general resource of the gentlemen of Ireland. Hence does the page of European history bear the most ample and honourable testimony to their warlike achievements in France, Spain and Germany, where they forced their way to the highest distinctions and the most honourable and important employments, both civil and military. Those unfortunate "Exiles of "Erin" attained the highest situations even in Russia, where they first introduced regular discipline and military tactics among the barbarous hordes of that immense empire; which now that it is *favoured* with the friendship of Napoleon, will compel *the Crescent to yield to the Cross*; and thus, as heretofore, perhaps the seat of Empire will be transplanted from the West to the East, and Constantinople become the centre of the Christian world.*

For such a change the minds of all the well

* If the reader will have the complaisance to observe the time when these observations were made, and notice the present pursuits of Bonaparte, he will perhaps feel disposed to acknowledge that the writer was strictly correct in his speculation. Nothing short of the absolute subjugation of European Turkey, can satisfy his ambition. Happy for our Leadenhall-street Monarchs if he should be content to stop there, but those who know him best are well assured that the throne of Delhi is his ultimate object.

informed have been long prepared, and most easily would it have been effected, if we, *meek and gentle Christians,* were not more anxiously employed to cut each other's throats, than to expel the *brutal Ottoman* out of Europe. That event, however, may be confidently looked to when the Nimrod of the day shall cease to hunt wild beasts in the forests of Fontainbleau, and recommence his habitual amusement of *hunting and destroying his fellow creatures.* All our speculations about his discomfiture on the Danube, where, by the bye, he experienced the severest check he ever met with, and his reported insanity have vanished into empty air. His empire, to use a gallicism, is *arondied,* he has opened to his fleets and armies, a passage to every assailable point on the map of Europe, nay, he has done more ; he has, by his last accession of territory, possessed himself of all the means of building a navy in those ports hitherto unnoticed, which will remove the seat of naval empire, from the Atlantic and Mediterranean to the Adriatic Sea, and enable him to effect all his ulterior objects (to use the fashionable phrase), without the possibility of being awed or checked by a British force.

These truths, Sir, which I throw out in this plain unvarnished manner, will manifest themselves too soon. It cannot be denied, that, should Napoleon be ever able to contend with us on *our*

own element, the OCEAN, he must necessarily become the Sovereign Lord of the Western World; and he has given us pretty broad hints, that he also intends to make himself known in the Eastern.

Under the pressure of such circumstances, and viewing the state of Europe as it really is, what would be the conduct of a wise Minister?—Precisely the reverse of that with which we are cursed. Considering the inadequate amount of our population, considering also the dreadful drains on that very limited population, to support ill planned expeditions and impracticable objects, which none but such Ministers as ours would have ever attempted, and which never fail to terminate in defeat and disgrace—does not common policy, founded on common sense, point out the imperious necessity of concentrating our whole force, and uniting, by the closest ties of conciliation and reciprocal affection, all the resources, moral and physical, which we have left, to present a bold front to the common enemy? I will venture to assert, that there is not an individual in the United Empire, endowed with the ordinary faculties of distinguishing between right and wrong, who will not support this opinion, viz. That we should instantly call into action all our resources of whatsoever kind, and conciliate the cordial affection of all classes, without

regard to religious distinctions, silly and absurd at all times, but now baneful and pernicious; but the *little Northampton Apostle of persecution*, will say otherwise; and, nursing prejudices, as irrational as they are ruinous, sing *lullaby* to the Royal ear; and while, as the immortal Roscoe says, (may honour and glory ever attach to his revered name!) the "Catholics of every nation "around us are shedding their blood in defence "of their liberties, our fellow subjects of that "persuasion are denied their civil rights, merely "because they will not be hypocrites, and pro "fess a mode of faith which they are taught to "believe erroneous." Oh! what casuists are our Ministers! what a pity they did not live in those times when General Councils were held for the regulation of all those matters! What a pity, indeed, for the happiness and preservation of the British Empire, they did not exist in any other times than these, when their contracted views of national policy, their proscribing principles, their utter incapacity and daring ambition prompt them to adopt measures, the certain tendency of which involves the ruin of their country!!! Are the People of England prepared for this sacrifice? If they are, which I cannot for a moment believe, I can assure them that their Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland are

not so passive; and that, with the same noble spirit which animated a Blake and an O'Donnel, they will assert their constitutional rights—*Coute qui coute.*

PUBLICOLA.

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